

THE RISE OF THE GLOBAL DOMINANCE GROUP

*Neo-conservatives
within the
American ruling
class are intent on
expanding the
power and control
of the military-
industrial complex
in their quest for
world domination.*

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9/11 WARNINGS AND ELECTION IRREGULARITIES IN CONTEXT

The leadership class in the United States is now dominated by a neo-conservative group of people with the shared goal of asserting US military power worldwide. This global dominance group, in cooperation with major military contractors, has become a powerful force in world military unilateralism and US political processes. This research study is an attempt to identify the general parameters of those who are the key actors supporting a global dominance agenda and how collectively this group has benefited from the events of September 11, 2001, and irregularities in the 2004 presidential election. This study examines how interlocking public-private partnerships, involving the corporate media, public relations firms, military contractors, policy elites and government officials, jointly support a US military global domination agenda. We ask the traditional sociological questions regarding who wins, who decides and who facilitates action inside the most powerful military-industrial complex in the world.

A long thread of sociological research documents the existence of a dominant ruling class in the United States, which sets policy and determines national political priorities. The American ruling class is complex and inter-competitive, maintaining itself through interacting families of high social standing who have similar lifestyles, corporate affiliations and memberships in elite social clubs and private schools.¹

The American ruling class has long been determined to be mostly self-perpetuating,² maintaining its influence through policy-making institutions such as the National Manufacturing Association, National Chamber of Commerce, Business Council, Business Roundtable, Conference Board, American Enterprise Institute, Council on Foreign Relations and other business-centred policy groups.³ These associations have long dominated policy decisions within the US government.

C. Wright Mills, in his 1956 book *The Power Elite*, documented how World War II solidified a trinity of power in the US that comprised corporate, military and government elites in a centralised power structure motivated by class interests and working in unison through "higher circles" of contact and agreement. Mills described how the power elite were those "who decide whatever is decided" of major consequence.⁴ These higher circle decision-makers tended to be more concerned with interorganisational relationships and the functioning of the economy as a whole rather than with advancing their particular corporate interests respectively.⁵

The higher circle policy elites (HCPE) are a segment of the American upper class and are the principal decision-makers in society. While having a sense of "we-ness", they tend to have continuing disagreements on specific policies and necessary actions in various sociopolitical circumstances.⁶ These disagreements can block aggressive reactionary responses to social movements and civil unrest, as in the cases of the labour movement in the 1930s and the civil rights movement in the 1960s. During these two periods, the more liberal elements of the HCPE tended to dominate the decision-making process and supported passing the National Labor Relations and Social Security Acts in 1935 as well as the Civil Rights and Economic Opportunities Acts in 1964. These pieces of national legislation were seen as concessions to the ongoing social movements and civil unrest, and were implemented without instituting more repressive policies.

However, during periods of external threats represented by US enemies in World War I and World War II, HCPEs were more consolidated. It was in these periods that more conservative/reactionary elements of the HCPE were able to push their agendas more

forcefully. During and after World War I, the US instituted repressive responses to social movements through the Palmer Raids and the passage of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918. After World War II, the McCarthy era attacks on liberals and radicals as well as the passage in 1947 of the National Security Act and the anti-labour Taft–Hartley Act were allowed and encouraged by higher circle policy elites.

The Cold War led to a continuing arms races and a further consolidation of military and corporate interests. President Eisenhower warned of this increasing concentration of power in his 1961 speech to the nation:

"...Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

"Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist..."⁷

The HCPE support for the continuation of military expansion after WWII was significantly different than after WWI. In the 1920s, the higher circle policy elites were uncomfortable with war profits and the power of the arms industry. After WWII with the Cold War, Korean and Vietnam wars, the HCPE supported continued unprecedented levels of military spending.⁸

The top 100 military contractors from WWII acquired over three billion dollars in new resources between 1939 and 1945, representing a 62 per cent increase in capital assets. Five main interest groups—Morgan, Mellon, Rockefeller, DuPont and Cleveland Steel—controlled two-thirds of the WWII prime contractor firms and were key elements of HCPEs seeking continued high-level military spending.⁹

Economic incentives, combined with Cold War fears, led the HCPE to support an unprecedented military readiness, which resulted in a permanent military-industrial complex. From 1952 to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US maintained defence funding in the 25 to 40 per cent range of total Federal spending, with peaks during the Korean and Vietnam wars and the Reagan presidency.¹⁰

The break-up of the Soviet Union undermined the rationale for continued military spending at high Cold War levels, and some within the HCPE, while celebrating their victory over communism, saw the possibility of balanced budgets and peace dividends in the 1990s. In early 1992, Senator Edward Kennedy called for the taking of US\$210 billion dollars out of the defence budget over several years and spending \$60 billion on universal health care, public housing and improved transportation.¹¹ However, by the [northern] spring of 1992 it was clear that strong resistance to major cuts in the military budgets had widespread support in Washington. That year the Senate, in a 50–48 vote, was unable to close Republican and conservative Democrat debates against a proposal to shift defence spending to domestic programs.¹² In 1995, Defense Secretary Les Aspin—who during his tenure under Clinton made minor cuts to Pentagon budgets—argued that spending needed to remain high, especially for intelligence on "targeting terrorism and narcotics".¹³ By 1999, editorials bemoaning the loss of the peace dividend were all that was left of major cuts to military spending.¹⁴

At the same time as liberal elements of the HCPE were pushing for a peace dividend, a neo-conservative group was arguing for using the decline of the Soviet Union as an opportunity for US military world dominance.

Foundations of the Global Dominance Group

Leo Strauss, Albert Wohlstetter and others at the University of Chicago working in the Committee on Social Thought have been widely credited for promoting the neo-conservative agenda through their students Paul Wolfowitz, Allan Bloom and Bloom's student Richard Perle. *Adbusters* summed up neo-conservatism as:

"...the belief that Democracy, however flawed, was best defended

by an ignorant public pumped on nationalism and religion. Only a militantly nationalist state could deter human aggression... Such nationalism requires an external threat and if one cannot be found it must be manufactured."¹⁵

The neo-conservative philosophy emerged from the 1960s era of social revolutions and political correctness as a counter-force to expanding liberalism and cultural relativism. Numerous officials and associates in the Reagan and George H. W. Bush presidencies were strongly influenced by the neo-conservative philosophy; they included: John Ashcroft, Charles Fairbanks, Dick Cheney, Kenneth Adelman, Elliot Abrams, William Kristol and Douglas Feith.¹⁶

Within the Ford administration there was a split between Cold War traditionalists seeking to minimise confrontations through diplomacy and détente and neo-conservatives advocating stronger confrontations with the Soviet "Evil Empire". The latter group became more entrenched when George H. W. Bush became director of the CIA. Bush allowed the formation of "Team B", headed by Richard Pipes along with Paul Wolfowitz, Lewis Libby, Paul Nitze and others, who formed the Committee on the Present Danger to raise awareness of the Soviet threat and the continuing need for a strong, aggressive, defence policy. Their efforts led to strong anti-Soviet positioning during the Reagan administration.¹⁷

"We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations."

— US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1961

Journalist John Pilger recalled how he interviewed neo-conservative Richard Perle during the Reagan administration:

"I interviewed Perle when he was advising Reagan; and when he spoke about 'total war', I mistakenly dismissed him as mad. He recently used the term again in describing America's 'war on terror'. 'No stages,' he said. 'This is total war. We are fighting a variety of enemies. There are lots of them out there. All this talk about first we are going to do Afghanistan, then we will do Iraq...this is entirely the wrong way to go about it. If we just let our vision of the world go forth, and we embrace it entirely and we don't try to piece together clever diplomacy, but just wage a total war...our children will sing great songs about us years from now.'"¹⁸

The election of George H. W. Bush to the presidency and the appointment of Dick Cheney as Secretary of Defense expanded the presence of neo-conservatives within the government and after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 allowed for the formal initiation of a global dominance policy.

In 1992, Dick Cheney supported Lewis Libby and Paul Wolfowitz in producing the "Defense Planning Guidance" report, which advocated US military dominance around the globe in a "new order". The report called for the United States to grow in military superiority and to prevent new rivals from rising up to challenge the US on the world stage. Using words like "unilateral action" and military "forward presence", the report advocated that the US dominate friends and foes alike. It concluded with the assertion that the US can best attain this position by making itself "absolutely powerful".¹⁹

The "Defense Policy Guidance" report was leaked to the press and came under heavy criticism from many members of the HCPE. The *New York Times* reported on March 11, 1992, that "Senior White House and State Department officials have harshly criticized a draft Pentagon policy statement that asserts that America's mission in the post-cold-war era will be to prevent any collection of friendly or unfriendly nations from competing with the United States for superpower status".²⁰

One administration official, familiar with the reaction of senior staff at the White House and State Department, characterised the document as a "dumb report" that "in no way or shape represents US policy", while Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, called the draft Pentagon document "myopic, shallow and disappointing".²¹ Many among the HCPE were not yet ready for a unilateral global dominance agenda. So with Bill Clinton's election to the White House in 1992, most neo-conservatives of the HCPE were out of direct power during the next eight years.

The Neo-cons Under Clinton

The HCPE within both major political parties tend to seek to maintain US world military power. Both political parties cooperate by encouraging Congress to protect US business interests abroad and corporate profits at home. To better

maintain defence contractors' profits, Clinton's Defense Science Board called for a globalised defence industry obtained through mergers of defence contractors with transnational companies that would become partners in the maintenance of US military readiness.²²

James Woolsey, Clinton's director of the CIA from 1993 to 1995 and described as a hardliner on foreign policy, wanted to have a continued strong defence policy.²³

However, the Clinton administration stayed away from promoting global dominance as an ideological justification for continuing high defence budgets. Instead, to offset profit declines for defence contractors after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Clinton administration aggressively promoted international arms sales, raising the US share of arms exports from 16 per cent in 1988 to 63 per cent in 1997.²⁴

Additionally under Clinton, the US Space Command's 1996 report "Vision for 2020" called for "full spectrum dominance" by linking land, sea and air superiority to satellite supremacy along with the weaponisation of space.²⁵

Outside the Clinton administration, neo-conservative HCPEs continued to promote a global dominance agenda.

On June 4 1994, a neo-conservative "Lakeside Chat" was given at the San Francisco Bohemian Club's summer encampment to some 2,000 regional and national elites. The talk, entitled "Violent Weakness", was presented by a political science professor from UC Berkeley. The speaker focused on how increasing

violence in society was weakening our social institutions. Contributing to this violence and decay of our institutions were bisexuality, entertainment politics, multiculturalism, Afro-centrism and a loss of family boundaries. The professor claimed that to avert further deterioration, we need to recognise that: "...elites based on merit and skill are important to society. Any elite that fails to define itself will fail to survive... We need boundaries and values set and clear! We need an American-centered foreign policy...

and a President who understands foreign policy." He went on to conclude that we cannot allow the "unqualified" masses to carry out policy, but that elites must set values that can be translated into "standards of authority". The speech was forcefully given and was received with an enthusiastic standing ovation by most members.²⁶

During the Clinton administration, neo-conservatives within the HCPE were still active in advocating for military global dominance. Many of the neo-conservatives and their global dominance allies found various positions in conservative think-tanks and with Department of Defense (DoD) contractors. They continued close affiliations with each other through the Heritage Foundation, American Enterprises Institute, Hoover Institute, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), Center for Security Policy and several other conservative policy groups. Some became active with right-wing publications such as the *National Review* and the *Weekly Standard*.

The report called for the United States to grow in military superiority and to prevent new rivals from rising up to challenge the US on the world stage.

In 1997, they received funding from conservative foundations to create the Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

HCPE advocates for a US-led "New World Order" along with Reagan–Bush hardliners and other military expansionists founded the PNAC in June 1997. Their Statement of Principles called for the need to guide principles for American foreign policy and the creation of a strategic vision for America's role in the world. PNAC members set forth their aims with the following statement:

- we need to increase defense spending significantly if we are to carry out our global responsibilities today and modernize our armed forces for the future;

- we need to strengthen our ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values;

- we need to promote the cause of political and economic freedom abroad;

- we need to accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles.

"Such a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity may not be fashionable today. But it is necessary if the United States is to build on the successes of this past century and to ensure our security and our greatness in the next."²⁷

The statement was signed by Elliott Abrams, Gary Bauer, William J. Bennett, Jeb Bush, Dick Cheney, Eliot A. Cohen, Midge Decter, Paula Dobriansky, Steve Forbes, Aaron Friedberg, Francis Fukuyama, Frank Gaffney, Fred C. Ikle, Donald Kagan, Zalmay Khalilzad, I. Lewis Libby, Norman Podhoretz, Dan Quayle, Peter W. Rodman, Stephen P. Rosen, Henry S. Rowen, Donald Rumsfeld, Vin Weber, George Weigel and Paul Wolfowitz. Of the 25 founders of PNAC, 12 were later appointed to high-level positions in the George W. Bush administration.²⁸

Since its founding, the PNAC has attracted numerous others who have signed policy letters or participated in the group. Within the PNAC, eight have been affiliated with the number-one defence contractor Lockheed Martin and seven with the number-three defence contractor Northrop Grumman.²⁹ PNAC is one of several institutions that connect global dominance HCPEs and large US military contractors.³⁰

In September 2000, PNAC produced a 76-page report entitled "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century".³¹ The report is similar to the "Defense Policy Guidance" document written by Lewis Libby and Paul Wolfowitz in 1992. This is not surprising, in that Libby and Wolfowitz were participants in the production of the 2000 PNAC report. Steven Cambone, Dov Zakheim, Mark Lagan and David Epstein were also heavily involved. Each of these individuals would go on to hold high-level positions in the George W. Bush administration.³²

"Rebuilding America's Defenses" called for the protection of

the American homeland, the ability to wage simultaneous theatre wars and perform global constabulary roles, and the control of space and cyberspace. It claimed that the 1990s was a decade of defence neglect and that the US must increase military spending to preserve American geopolitical leadership as the world's superpower. The report claimed that in order to maintain a *Pax Americana*, potential rivals—such as China, Iran, Iraq and North Korea—needed to be held in check. The report also recognised that "the process of transformation...is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event such as a new Pearl Harbor".³³ The events of September 11, 2001, were exactly the kind of catastrophe that the authors of "Rebuilding America's Defenses" theorised was needed to accelerate a global dominance agenda.

Before 9/11, the development of strategic global dominance policies was likely to be challenged by members of Congress and liberal HCPEs, who continued to hold a détente foreign policy frame of understanding that had been traditionally advocated by the Council on Foreign Relations and the State Department. Liberal and moderate HCPEs in various think-tanks, policy councils and universities still hoped for a peace dividend resulting in lower taxes and the stabilisation of social programs, and the maintenance of a foreign policy based more on a balance of power instead of unilateral US military global domination.

Additionally, many HCPEs were worried that the costs of rapidly expanding the military would lead to deficit spending. These liberal/moderate HCPEs were so shocked by 9/11 that they became immediately united in their fear of terrorism and in full support of the Patriot Act, Homeland Security and legislation to support military action in Afghanistan and later Iraq. The resulting permanent war on terror led to massive government spending and the rapid acceleration of the neo-conservative HCPE plans for military

control of the world.³⁴

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Understanding Global Dominance Advocates in HCPEs

Benefiting significantly from expanded military spending after 9/11 was a group of Department of Defense and Homeland Security contractors. For the purposes of this study, we included in our study group the top seven military contractors who derive at least one-third of their income from DoD contracts. Additionally, we added in The Carlyle Group and Bechtel Group Inc. because of their high levels of political influence and revolving-door personnel within the Reagan and Bush I and II administrations (see appendix A for list of top 20 DoD contractors).³⁵ These corporations have benefited significantly from post-9/11 policies. Our goals are to identify the primary advocates for a global dominance policy within the HCPEs and the principal beneficiaries of this policy. We believe that, by identifying the most important policy advocates and those corporate heads who have the most to gain from a

global dominance policy, we can begin to establish the parameters of the individuals involved in the Global Dominance Group (GDG) among the HCPEs. Knowing the general parameters of the GDG will provide an understanding of who had means, opportunity and motive to have initiated a post-9/11 acceleration of neo-conservative military expansion towards the goal of assuming full-spectrum military dominance of the world.

Understanding the parameters of the GDG will also allow researchers to explore the possibilities of insider pre-knowledge of the 9/11 attacks. These are classic sociological questions of who wins and who loses within class structures, policy processes and state decision-making. In this study, we are not seeking to identify people involved in specific acts before or after 9/11. Rather, we seek to understand the sociological phenomenon of how, as collective actors, the GDG within the HCPE had the theoretical circumstances of motive, means and opportunity to gain from such events.

To establish a GDG parameters list, we included the directors of the nine DoD contractors identified above as those corporations earning over one-third of their revenue from the government or having high levels of political involvement. Additionally, we included members of 16 leading conservative global-dominance-advocating foundations and policy councils.

Connections and associations listed in our GDG are not always simultaneous, but rather reflect links extending close to two decades inside an increasingly important group within the HCPE of the United States. The list includes 236 names of people who have, or recently held, high-level government positions in the George W. Bush administration, sit on the boards of directors of major DoD contracting corporations and/or are close associates of the above, serving as GDG advocates on policy councils or advocacy foundations.

Deciding on who to include in such a list and how far to extend the links is difficult. We believe, however, that in looking for the core of the GDG in the United States that the people listed in appendix B are many of the principal participants. These people have been some of the strongest advocates for military global dominance and/or are the primary beneficiaries of such a policy within the US. They tend to know each other through long periods of active involvement in policy circles, boards of directors, consulting positions, government agencies and project-specific activities.

Although far more research on the GDG needs to be done, we can begin to have an understanding of the parameters and operational methods involved by showing major defence contractor links with the GDG and the policy benefits to such companies as Lockheed Martin, Halliburton, Carlyle and Northrup Grumman.

Who Profits from GDG Policies?

Lockheed-Martin has benefited significantly from the post-9/11 military expansion promoted by the GDG. The Pentagon's budget for buying new weapons rose from \$61 billion in 2001 to over \$80 billion in 2004. Lockheed Martin's sales rose by over 30% at the same time, with tens of billions of dollars on the books for future purchases. From 2000 to 2004, Lockheed Martin's stock value rose 300%.

New York Times reporter Tim Weiner wrote in 2004: "No contractor is in a better position than Lockheed Martin to do business in Washington. Nearly 80% of its revenue comes from the US Government. Most of the rest comes from foreign military sales, many financed with tax dollars."³⁶

As of August 2005, Lockheed Martin stockholders had made 18% on their stock in the prior 12 months.³⁷ Northrup Grumman has seen similar growth in the last three years with DoD contracts rising from \$3.2 billion in 2001 to \$11.1 billion in 2004.³⁸ Halliburton, with Vice President Dick Cheney as former CEO, has seen phenomenal growth since 2001. Halliburton had defence contracts totalling \$427 million in 2001. By 2003, it had \$4.3 billion in defence contracts, of which approximately a third were sole source agreements.³⁹

Cheney, not incidentally, continues to receive a deferred salary from Halliburton. According to financial disclosure forms, he was paid \$205,298 in 2001, \$162,392 in 2002, \$178,437 in 2003 and \$194,852 in 2004, and his 433,333 Halliburton stock options rose in value from \$241,498 in 2004 to \$8 million in 2005.⁴⁰

The Carlyle Group, established in 1987, is a private global investment firm that manages some \$30 billion in assets. Numerous high-level members of the GDG have been involved in The Carlyle Group, including Frank Carlucci, George H. W. Bush, James Baker III, William Kennard and Richard Darman. The Carlyle Group purchased United Defense in 1997 and sold its shares in the company after 9/11, making a one-billion-dollar profit.⁴¹

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Carlyle continues to invest in defence contractors and is moving into the homeland security industry.⁴²

GDG advocacy continues into the present. Tom Donnelly—a PNAC participant, an American Enterprise Institute resident scholar and a former director of communications for Lockheed Martin—published a book in May 2005 advocating increasing the DoD budget by a third to \$600 billion and adding 150,000 active-duty military personnel. Donnelly calls for the continuation of today's *Pax Americana*, a GDG euphemism for US global military domination of the world.⁴³

Public-Private Partnerships

While it is important not to underestimate the profit motive within the top military-defence contractors, the promotion of a global dominance agenda includes both neo-conservative ideological beliefs and the formation of extremely powerful permanent public-private partnerships at the highest levels of government to create interlocking networks of global control. The continuing privatisation of military services is but one example of this trend.⁴⁴

Another example is the recent appointment of Paul Wolfowitz, formerly Deputy Secretary of Defense, to head the World Bank. His appointment gives the GDG strong control of another major institutional asset in the drive for full global dominance.

A global dominance agenda also includes penetration into the boardrooms of the corporate media in the US. A research team at Sonoma State University recently finished conducting a network analysis of the boards of directors of the 10 big media organisations in the US. The team determined that only 118 people comprise the membership on the boards of the 10 big media giants. These 118 individuals in turn sit on the corporate boards of 288 national and international corporations. Four of the top 10 media corporations in the US have GDG-DoD contractors on their boards of directors, including: William Kennard—*New York Times*, The Carlyle Group; Douglas Warner III—GE (NBC), Bechtel; John Bryson—Disney (ABC),

Boeing; Alwyn Lewis—Disney (ABC), Halliburton; Douglas McCorkindale—Gannett, Lockheed Martin.⁴⁵

Given an interlocked media network, it is safe to say that big media in the United States effectively represent the interests of corporate America. The media elite, a key component of the HCPE in the US, are the watchdogs of acceptable ideological messages, the controllers of news and information content, and the decision-makers regarding media resources. Corporate media elites are subject to the same pressures as the higher circle policy makers in the US and therefore are equally susceptible to reactionary response to our most recent Pearl Harbor.

An important case of Pentagon influence over the corporate media is CNN's retraction of the story about US military use of sarin (a nerve gas) in 1970 in Laos during the Vietnam War. CNN producers April Oliver and Jack Smith, after an eight-month investigation, reported on CNN on June 7, 1998, and later in *Time* magazine that sarin gas was used in Operation *Tailwind* in Laos and that American defectors were targeted.

The story was based on eyewitness accounts and high military command collaboration. Under tremendous pressure from the Pentagon, Henry Kissinger, Colin Powell and Richard Helms, CNN and *Time* retracted the story by saying, "The allegations about the use of nerve gas and the killing of defectors are not supported by the evidence". Oliver and Smith were both fired by CNN later that summer.

They have steadfastly stood by their original story as accurate and substantiated. CNN and *Time*, under intense Pentagon pressure, quickly reversed their position after having fully approved the release of the story only weeks earlier. April Oliver feels that CNN and *Time* capitulated to the Pentagon's threat to lock them out of future military stories.⁴⁶

Public Relations Companies and the GDG

A popular and arguably effective means of controlling public support for global dominance initiatives exists in the use of public relations firms. In recent years, PR corporations have increased their profits through US and foreign contracts. While direct propaganda campaigns are generally illegal in the United States, governments and PR firms creatively shape public opinion domestically by planting news in foreign papers that will instantly reach American readers.⁴⁷ While the government relies on these firms to generate a specific ideological response from the masses, the PR firms focus on profits. The concentration of power and capital at the top is not unique to the military defence contractors or to the government. It is also evident in the power that PR and crisis management agencies hold over public opinion.

The images that have shaped support for a permanent war on terror include the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein, the heroic rescue of Private Jessica Lynch and dramatic tales of weapons of mass destruction.⁴⁸ During the first Gulf War, the world witnessed testimony to Congress about babies taken from incubators and left on cold hospital floors and the heartfelt plea by the Kuwaitis to help liberate them from a ruthless Iraqi dictator. In truth the CIA, using taxpayer money, funded these images, which were fabricated and disseminated by The Rendon Group, Hill and Knowlton and other private public relations and crisis management companies.⁴⁹

The corporations responsible for disseminating and



"This is one of the worst sticky-note storms I've ever been caught in."

shaping information are so interconnected that most public relations firms in the United States and Europe fall under the umbrella of three huge corporations. The big three—WPP, Omnicom and Interpublic—have board members who also sit on the boards of the major media conglomerates, military contracting companies and government commissions, including having direct relationships in the executive and legislative branches of government.⁵⁰

The public relations company The Rendon Group is one of the firms hired for the PR management of America's pre-emptive wars. In the 1980s, The Rendon Group helped form American sentiment regarding the ousting of President Manuel Noriega in Panama.⁵¹ In the 1990s, it shaped international support for the first Gulf War and created the Iraqi National Congress from image to marketing to the handpicking of Ahmed Chalabi.⁵²

Rendon and similar firms follow the money, shaping public opinion to meet the needs of their clients. The conglomeration and corporatisation of the PR industry, in service to the GDG, hinder public discourse and allow those with the most money to dominate news and information in the US and increasingly in the world.

The ease with which the American population accepted the invasion of Iraq was the outcome of a concerted effort involving the government, DoD contractors, public relations firms and the corporate media. These institutions are the instigators and main beneficiaries of a permanent war on terror.

The importance of these connections lies in the fact that powerful segments of the GDG have the money and resources to articulate their propaganda repeatedly to the American people until those messages become self-evident truths and conventional wisdom.

Election Irregularities

In the [northern] fall of 2001, after an eight-month review of 175,000 Florida ballots never counted in the 2000 election, the National Opinion Research Center confirmed that Al Gore actually won Florida and should have been President. However, coverage of this report was only a small blip in the corporate media, as a much bigger story dominated the news after September 11, 2001.⁵³

The 2004 election was even more fraudulent. The official vote count in 2004 showed that George W. Bush won by three million votes. But exit polls projected a victory margin of five million votes for John Kerry. This eight-million-vote discrepancy is much greater than any possible margin of error. The overall margin of error should statistically have been under one per cent. But the official result deviated from the poll projections by more than five per cent—a statistical impossibility.⁵⁴

Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International were the two companies hired to do the polling for the Nation Election Pool (a consortium of the nation's five major broadcasters and the Associated Press). They refused to release their polling data until after the inauguration.

Election Systems & Software (ES&S), Diebold and Sequoia are the companies primarily involved in implementing the new electronic voting stations throughout the country. All three have strong ties to the Bush administration.

The largest investors in ES&S, Diebold and Sequoia are government defence contractors Northrup Grumman, Lockheed Martin, Electronic Data Systems (EDS) and Accenture. Diebold hired Scientific Applications International Corporation (SAIC) of San Diego to develop the software security in its voting machines.

Many of the officials on SAIC's board (identified in our GDG data) are former members of either the Pentagon or the CIA; they include: Army General Wayne Downing, formerly on the National Security Council; Bobby Ray Inman, former CIA director; Retired Admiral William Owens, former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Robert Gates, another former director of the CIA.⁵⁵

Black Box Voting has reported repeatedly that the voting machines used by over 30 million voters were easily hacked by relatively unsophisticated programs and that post-election audits of the computers would not show evidence of tampering. Irregularities in the vote counts indicate that something beyond chance happened in 2004.⁵⁶

Conspiracy theories abound in America and are directly related to the lack of investigative reporting by the corporate media. Corporate media are principally in the entertainment business, therefore the public knows more about the 2004 murder case of California wife-killer Scott Peterson than possibilities of national voter fraud.

Global Dominance Group and 9/11 Foreknowledge

A significant portion of the GDG had every opportunity to know in advance that the 9/11 attacks were imminent. Many countries warned the US of imminent terrorist attacks: Afghanistan, Argentina, Britain, Cayman Islands, Egypt, France,

Germany, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Morocco and Russia.

Warnings from within the United States intelligence community included communications intercepts regarding al-Qaeda's specific plans. Some of the 9/11 pre-warnings include:

- **1993:** An expert panel commissioned by the Pentagon raised the concern that an airplane could be used to bomb national landmarks (*Washington Post*, 10/2/01).

- **1996–2001:** Federal authorities knew that suspected terrorists with ties to bin Laden received flight training at schools in the US and abroad. An Oklahoma City FBI agent sent a memo warning that "large numbers of Middle Eastern males" were getting flight training and could have been planning terrorist attacks (CBS, May 30, 2002). One convicted terrorist confessed that his planned role in a terror attack was to crash a plane into CIA headquarters (*Washington Post*, September 23, 2001).

- **December 1998:** A *Time* magazine cover story entitled "The Hunt for Osama" reported that bin Laden might be

In late 2001, after an eight-month review of 175,000 Florida ballots never counted in the 2000 election, the National Opinion Research Center confirmed that Al Gore actually won Florida and should have been President.

planning his boldest move yet: a strike on Washington or possibly New York City (*Time*, December 21, 1998).

• **June 2001:** German intelligence warned the CIA, Britain's intelligence agency and Israel's Mossad that Middle Eastern terrorists were planning to hijack commercial aircraft and use them as weapons to attack "American and Israeli symbols which stand out" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 11, 2001; *Washington Post*, September 14, 2001; Fox News, May 17, 2002).

• **June 28, 2001:** George Tenet wrote an intelligence summary to Condoleezza Rice, stating that "It is highly likely that a significant al-Qaeda attack is [expected] in the near future, within several weeks" (*Washington Post*, February 17, 2002).

• **June–July 2001:** President Bush, Vice President Cheney and national security aides were given briefs with headlines such as "Bin Laden Threats Are Real" and "Bin Laden Planning High Profile Attacks". The exact contents of these briefings remain classified, but according to the 9/11 Commission they consistently predicted upcoming attacks that would occur "on a catastrophic level, indicating that they would cause the world to be in turmoil, consisting of possible multiple—but not necessarily simultaneous—attacks" ("The 9/11 Commission Report", April 13, 2004 [B]).

• **July 26, 2001:** Attorney-General Ashcroft stopped flying on commercial airlines due to a threat assessment (CBS, July 26, 2001). The report of this warning was omitted from the 9/11 Commission report (Dr David Ray Griffin, May 22, 2005).

• **August 6, 2001:** President Bush received a classified intelligence briefing at his Crawford, Texas, ranch, warning that bin Laden may be planning to hijack commercial airliners. The memo was titled "Bin Laden Determined to Strike in US". The entire memo focused on the possibility of terrorist attacks inside the US and specifically mentioned the World Trade Center (*Newsweek*, May 27, 2002; *New York Times*, May 15, 2002; *Washington Post*, April 11, 2004; White House, April 11, 2004; Intelligence Briefing, August 6, 2001).

• **August 2001:** Russia's President Vladimir Putin warned the US that suicide pilots were training for attacks on US targets (Fox News, May 17, 2002). The head of Russian intelligence also later stated "We had clearly warned them" on several occasions, but they "did not pay the necessary attention" (Agence France-Presse, September 16, 2001).

• **September 10, 2001:** A group of top Pentagon officials received an urgent warning that prompted them to cancel their flight plans for the following morning (*Newsweek*, September 17, 2001). The 9/11 Commission document omitted this report (Griffin, May 22, 2005).⁵⁷

Foreknowledge of 9/11 enabled the GDG to act quickly to accelerate its global dominance agenda. People in the GDG wanted an invasion of Afghanistan long before 9/11. The US government Sub-committee on Asia and the Pacific of the International Relations Committee of the House of

Representatives met in February 1998 to discuss removing the government of Afghanistan from power. The US government told India in June 2001 that a planned invasion of Afghanistan was set for October, and *Jane's Defence News* reported in March 2001 that the US planned to invade Afghanistan later that year. BBC reported that the US told Pakistan's Foreign Secretary prior to 9/11 of a planned invasion of Afghanistan in October.⁵⁸

At the beginning of 2006, the Global Dominance Group's agenda is well established within higher circle policy councils and cunningly operationalised inside the US government. GDG members work hand in hand with defence contractors promoting deployment of US forces in over 700 bases worldwide.

There is an important difference between self-defence from external threats and the belief in the total military control of the world. Many people in the US are having serious doubts about the moral and practical acceptability of financing world domination, and the dangers to personal freedoms which permanent war implies.

Ken Cunningham of Penn State University wrote in December 2004: "...current War-on-Terror levels [of expenditures] surpass the Cold War averages by 18%...9/11 and the War on Terror have enabled the assertion of an aggressive, preemptive, militarist bloc within the government and the National Security State... The gravity of the current militarism is the nebulous, potentially limitless (permanent war)..."⁵⁹

Resistance to the GDG within the HCPEs

An important question remains. Can we see any evidence of moderates or liberals within the higher circle policy elites asserting resistance to the GDG agenda?

Certainly the indictments of key neo-cons within the Bush administration are a hopeful sign. But there is little evidence that the HCPEs have any interest in addressing questions regarding 9/11 pre-warnings

or national voter fraud.

Greg Palast reported on the split between the neo-cons in the Pentagon and the State Department and oil companies over the privatisation of the oilfields in Iraq. The GDG neo-cons were pushing for the US oil companies to purchase Iraq's oil fields outright, and the oil companies balked, preferring simply to buy the oil from a stable pro-American Iraqi regime.⁶⁰

Another sign of resistance was a full-page ad in the *New York Times* on November 10, 2005, placed by a new policy advocacy group called the Partnership for a Secure America. The ad openly challenged the US policy of torture and was signed by numerous HCPEs including Lee Hamilton, Warren Christopher, Gary Hart and Richard Holbrooke.

Still another sign of resistance is the fact that traditionally powerful long-term lobbying groups such as the US Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Association of Realtors have become concerned about

Many people in the US are having serious doubts about the moral and practical acceptability of financing world domination, and the dangers to personal freedoms which permanent war implies.

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the confidentiality of private files that "could too easily be reviewed" under the Patriot Act.⁶¹

These oppositional responses to the GDG from higher circle policy elites are hopeful but hardly significant in light of the extent of the global dominance agenda. Many in the HCPE are still fearful of terrorist attacks—a fear the corporate media constantly reinforce.

Many in the HCPE believe in holding the course in Iraq out of concern for greater unrest in the region should the US-led coalition pull out. Without broad social movements and citizen unrest that threaten the stability of HCPE's socio-economic agendas and corporate profits, there will be little if any serious challenge to the GDG. Should the 2006 election bring Democrat control to the House or Senate, we would likely see only a slight slowing of the GDG agenda—but certainly not a reversal.

The events over the past couple of decades and especially the first five years of this century suggest that something some would call "fascism" has taken root

in the United States, and that there is little indication that a reversal is evident.

Vice President Wallace wrote in the *New York Times* on April 9, 1944: "The really dangerous American fascist... is the man who wants to do in the United States in an American way what Hitler did in Germany in a Prussian way. The American fascist would prefer not to use violence. His method is to poison the channels of public information. With a fascist the problem is never how best to present the truth to the public but how best to use the news to deceive the public into giving the fascist and his group more money or more power.

They claim to be super-patriots, but they would destroy every liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. They demand free enterprise, but are the spokesmen for monopoly and vested interest. Their final objective toward which all their deceit is directed is to capture political power so that, using the power of the state and the power of the market simultaneously, they may keep the common man in eternal subjection."⁶²

We are past the brink of totalitarian fascist-corporatism. Challenging the neo-

cons and the GDG agenda is only the beginning of reversing the long-term conservative reactions to the gains of the 1960s.

Re-addressing poverty, the UN Declaration of Human Rights and our own weapons of mass destruction is a long-term agenda for progressive scholars and citizen democrats.

About the Authors:

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Editor's Note:

Due to space constraints, we are unable to publish the endnotes and appendices accompanying this paper. To view them, visit our website at <http://www.nexusmagazine.com> or go to <http://www.projectcensored.org/>.

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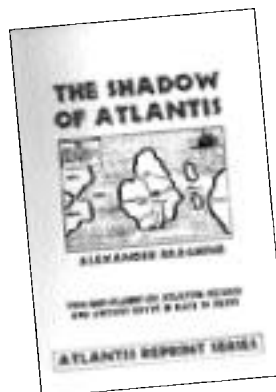
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